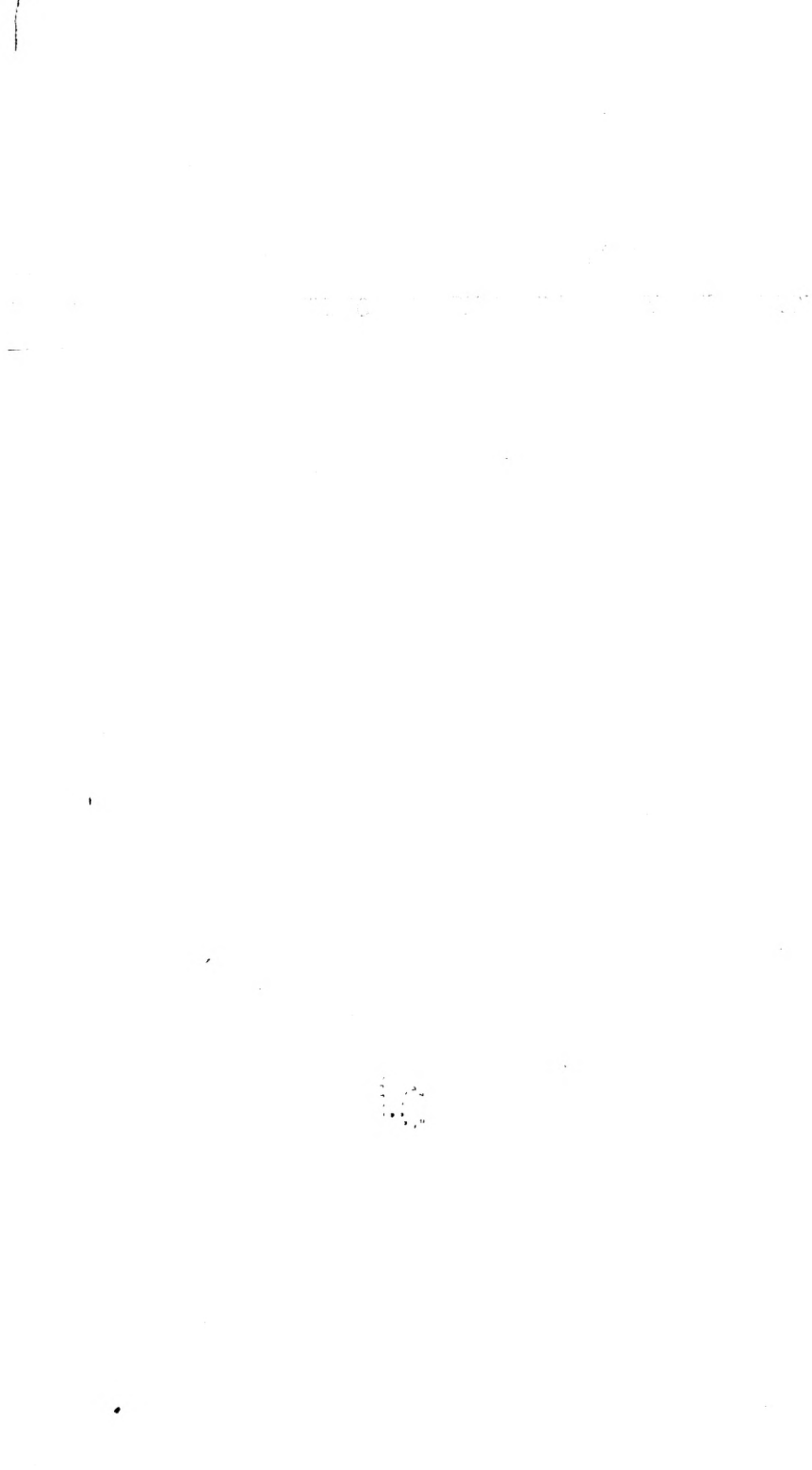


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ESSEX JACKSON MEETING.

At a Convention of the friends of Gen. Jackson in the County of Essex, holden at Haverhill on the 27th day of March,

COL. JOHN JOHNSON, *Chairman,*

CAPT. WILLIAM HASELTINE, *Sec'y.*

the following Address and Resolutions were adopted

ADDRESS.

FELLOW CITIZENS,—We address you with a diffidence, bordering upon timidity. It is painful to us, to prefer the Presidential candidate of the western States ; for our feelings cling to New England, in spite of our judgment. Having however no other motive than a sense of duty, believing that Mr. Adams would not receive your votes, if he lived south of the Potomac, —knowing that he has assumed upon himself the responsibility of the most obnoxious proceedings of Gen. Jackson, in whom the Adams party placed their confidence at the last election, by giving him their support for the office of Vice President, we now merely wish to be heard in our defence against the charge of being unfaithful to New England.

It is neither liberal nor wise to support a man for local considerations. The question should be, not where a candidate belongs, but is he more worthy than his competitors; for the most worthy should receive your favour without regard to his native state, or to the honors heretofore granted to that state. Should the claims of the candidates be equal, then the states may justly indulge their local feelings, but not otherwise; for we should do as we would be done by, and we should feel wronged, if a citizen of Massachusetts, confessedly more deserving than any other candidate, should be rejected because he did not belong to the Southern States. No honorable competition can exist, if the Presidency is trafficked away like a commodity, by leagues among the States. It is also impolitic, for the New England States, to combine for the mere purpose of electing a New England man, because other States will retaliate, whenever we present a candidate more deserving than the candidates

of other sections. In such a case, we should be attached to our candidate, because he would be a great and good man, and because his popularity abroad would be gratifying to us at home. The Virginia Candidates were elected, not because they were Virginians, but because they were superior to their rivals. They never provoked a majority of Congress into the opposition, or brought an odium upon Virginia, but other States held her in affection in proportion to the favour vouchsafed to her Presidents.

The support of sectional Candidates is a dangerous precedent. Quarrels among states not unfrequently menace the government. An embargo enriches one State and impoverishes another. A war is popular in the west and odious in the east. Questions upon slavery, separate the north from the south, agricultural States are jealous of the regulations of Commerce; our foreign relations, and internal improvements are sure to excite feuds among the States. If in addition, the different States become addicted to wage a paper war upon each other, there is danger that a more bloody conflict will be engendered.

If New England was interested in any specific policy, which could only be pursued by a President of her own, there would seem to be a reason for uniting in his support, although the experiment would be deprecated. But no measures are at stake. We vote for Mr. Adams, for the simple reason that he is the N. England Candidate. If his election would be beneficial to N. England, then the selfish among us, who care more for themselves than the Union, would be expected to vote for him; but in that case a majority of you would oppose him, if you believed that his election would be injurious to the country, although advantageous to N. England. But if we can make it appear, that his election will not be beneficial, but injurious to New England, then we shall be found acting not against, but for N. England in opposing him.

The advantages which we expect from Mr. Adams, are either, that he will favour our interests, or increase our influence—or that we shall constructively enjoy a share of his influence.

Among the interests of New England are the following, which neither have nor will engage his attention.

The Massachusetts claim. This claim is interesting both for the amount demanded, and the character of the dominant party in 1814, which is implicated. It is rejected for our supposed disloyalty to the Union. Mr. Adams refuses to advocate this claim, either because he has not sufficient courage, or because he does not believe it just. Mr. Adams was first nominated in the Chronicle and other papers, which denounced the conduct of Gov. Strong, as rebellious; but he was better informed and has not the excuse for his neglect, which can be made for Gen. Jackson's exposition of the second article. He, a stranger,

with most of the western people, believed the reproaches of the Chronicle, when it so repeatedly asserted, that the members of the Hartford Convention, were conspirators and rebels in the employment of the British Government.

The tariff is a New England interest, and party zealots have tried to make it an administration question, but the manufacturers refused to consider it such.

Yet Mr. Adams, apprised of the further protection which our infant factories require, reserves himself in silence, to shape his course, not according to our necessities but his own advantage. Our Manufactures have been abandoned by him when President, as our merchants were, when he was Senator.

The Colonial trade has been lost by his mismanagement. Our West India traders have been supplanted by the subjects of the British Dominions. This together with his indifference to the fisheries and the French spoils has materially affected our wealth.

In delaying to settle the boundary line between Maine and Nova Scotia, many of the inhabitants of Maine have felt themselves to be without the protection of the United States and have received from their own legislature that relief, which Mr. Adams ought to have proffered.

When he came into office, he declaimed in favour of Internal Improvements, and large sums have been appropriated to the new States in order to purchase their votes, while nothing has been expended in New-England.

From these facts it is evident that our interest has not been the object nearest to his heart. Our influence has fared no better. He has appointed neither of his Secretaries from New-England. If he had been as faithful to us as we had been to him, he would like Virginia, have appointed his Secretary of State from New-England, but that office was the golden bait for Kentucky. No favours have been granted to N. England and none are expected, beside the mission to England by one of the parties to the sub-terranean bargain.

Our Senators and Representatives have made great exertions to extend our influence, but the truth cannot be concealed, however unpalatable it may be, that Adams has been intractable; he pursues his private ends, instead of cordially co-operating with them. He, not N. England has obtained power; not openly and fairly, but, by what the Virginians call a *Yankee trick*. We suffer abroad the disgrace of his election, and should we continue insensible to our degradation, our characters long since soiled by Hawkers and Pedlars, will be forever attainted by our President.

If he himself possessed influence, and we constructively shared in it, an insidious argument might be addressed to our inter-

est, by which we are swayed perhaps more than becomes us. In justice to ourselves, we ought to look more to honor, which on occasions like the present is as safe a guide as our interest. But this influence he does not happen to possess. Both houses of Congress are against him, and the merit of the administration belongs not to him, but the opposition, and the argument fails. If we are proud of the glory of our leaders, we are also mortified at their disgrace. Will not the historian in describing the character of Adams say—

“The monarchical principles of his father excited in him a princely ambition. Learned, caustic, and insolent, he dared all opposition. Social friendship and fashionable amusements wasted none of his time. Ambition haunted him night and day. The federalists, who had put their shoulders to the wheels of his father’s administration, saw his restlessness, and endeavoured to keep him quiet by appointing him Professor of Rhetoric in Cambridge, where they hoped his love of literary distinction would absorb his mind. He mistrusted their intentions and resolved to defeat them. In 1807, just as he was supposed to be retiring forever to the halls of science, he astonished the Country by joining Jefferson, the rival of his father, and the democratic party, which he had bitterly hated. The federalists at this time considered him as a Judas Iscariot or Benedict Arnold, and to screen him from their indignation, he was sent to Russia. The treaty of Ghent gave him popularity, and he was appointed Secretary of State. He immediately began to court the federalists, many of whom trusted him a second time. There was a Stygian plot connected with his election to the Presidency, which has never been unravelled. Suffice it to say, the old democratic party and a portion of the federalists became estranged from him, and he lost his second election, pitied less by his friends, who could not rely upon him, than by his opponents, who were actuated rather by gratitude to Jackson than enmity to Adams.”

We put it to you, fellow citizens, to say whether the chance is not more than equal, that such will be the record of the historian. If so, then we are not so much interested in the constructive fame of Mr. Adams, as in avoiding the consequences of his defeat. But we ought to have higher motives than the selfish one of supporting a New-Englander. Our principles and duties ought to affect us more than our jealousies. No man would avowedly abandon his principles to continue Mr. Adams in office. But we must either do this or support a man, whose principles may not accord with our own. Do democrats support Mr. Adams, because they are assured he is a democrat, dyed in the wool? then the federalists are mistaken in their opinion of him. One party or the other must in a measure give up their former principles of conduct; and this difficulty cannot be

avoided, by saying that neither party have now any exclusive principles, for if that were the case, why do not the democrats in this and other States unite with the federalists. They never act with them when they can act without them. A Republican Adams Convention, exclusively so, met yesterday in Ipswich to nominate Senators. If then, he is a pure republican and the Republicans will not allow federalists to consult with them, is it consistent in federalists thus tamely to surrender not only their principles but their undoubted rights, as common citizens of the country, and common members of the Adams party? But some federalists say, he is still a federalist. Then Mr. McLane, and Mr. Tazewell, and other federalists are deceived. On the contrary, if he is a democrat, then Mr. Macon and Mr. Randolph and other democrats are deceived. Perhaps it is not too uncharitable to say, that his principles are those of the miser, *Make money—honestly, if you can, but make money.* Those men, therefore, who regard their own principles, ought not to depend upon him who has either bad principles or none at all. As to Gen. Jackson, his principles have never been called in question. He has been uniformly a republican, and yet he boldly says, that federalists ought not to be proscribed. We do not contend, that Gen. Jackson is in all respects perfect, but we do say that his faults are compatible with the strictest virtue. And this cannot be said of Adams. Among the saints recorded in scripture, one was passionate, another curse and swore, another committed adultery, but who ever read of a *covetous* saint?

Our duty to our country, requires us to select, not a New England President, but one who is better fitted for the office than other men, and one too, whom the office fits better than other offices. The President does not make laws, or raise troops or declare war; Congress does these things. The President does not decide controversies among the people; this is the province of the Judiciary. He does not manage our internal administration, or foreign intercourse; this is the province of his Secretaries, and foreign Ministers. But the business of the President, in the words of the Constitution, is, to be "*the Commander in Chief of the army and navy of the United States and of the militia of the several States.*" This is the only appropriate and only exclusive power of the President, except that of "taking care that the laws are faithfully executed." The Senate has concurrent jurisdiction with him in making treaties, and appointing officers. He requires the written opinions of his Secretaries, relative to all the subjects of their departments. He cannot order Congress to pass laws, but only suggest them for their consideration, a power possessed to the same extent by every member. As to his levees and public appearances, a renowned general would be as acceptable to the people as a pedant and turncoat.

Errors of opinion spread unaccountably among the people, but "they may be safely tolerated, while reason is left free to combat them." The error, that military chieftains ought not to be Presidents, is the *disinterested* logic of Mr. Clay, and it is detected at once by a recurrence to the constitution. We are there told, that the President alone commands the army, navy and militia. This is his constitutional sphere, and he ought not to delegate his authority to another, but discharge it personally. Other duties are assigned to other public servants, and all ought to remain in their allotted orbits. Anarchy would be at the helm, if the President invaded the duties of his Secretaries, or of Congress, or if the latter usurped his prerogative. While the Constitution remains, the President must command our armies, and who is better qualified than a military chieftain?

Will Mr. Adams, who never commanded a platoon, who never killed a partridge, make a better commander in chief, than Gen. Jackson, whose exploits fill the world? Who was best fitted for the Presidency, Washington, or John Adams, who appointed Washington to command the army in 1797? In time of peace, a lawyer, a priest, or a woman might answer for President. But the office is created almost altogether for war, and if we had no President during peace, it would be of but little consequence.

If Gen. Jackson had been President during our last war, should we have met with those disasters at the commencement of it? Yet those disasters threatened the destruction of the Constitution. Thanks to our naval and military chieftains, their victories established it firmer, and yet we are told by Mr. Clay, that these same chieftains, who saved the Constitution cannot be trusted. It is not so. Decision, energy and military skill are the qualifications for the Presidency. The People, in whom the election is vested, can judge of these qualifications, and they may as well elect a President themselves, as choose a civilian, who by proxy shall appoint a commander in chief.

It is not only our duty to prefer the most suitable man, but to reward eminent patriotism. We should guard against ingratitude, for our approbation is the excitement of generous efforts, and if we withhold it from the deserving, the undeserving will crowd them from office, and we shall be in danger, from the violence of the one and the discontent of the other. Gen. Warren was cut down like a flower, but his memory is still fragrant, and will be always dear to us while a vestige of Bunker's Hill shall remain. Had he out-lived that battle and been a competitor with John Q. Adams, for any office in the gift of the people, we should have carried the name of Warren to the ballot boxes with exultation. Why is our conduct so different, when Jackson is his rival? Is the distance of New Orleans, so remote, that we do not realize that the victory of Jackson was not less

glorious than the battle of Bunker Hill ; that 12000 British veterans were defeated by 2000 militia, that a city was saved from pollution and a boundless country from subjection? Surely this of all occasions, is the most unseasonable for showing our jealousy of the Western States. Had Jackson belonged to Massachusetts, and saved the beauty and booty of Boston, we should one and all by acclamation have given him our suffrages. Adams would have stood no chance. Out of New England, our countrymen are every where impatient to bear him to the Presidency. Let us join the triumphal procession. By so doing, we shall not only discharge a debt of gratitude, but shall stand fair again in the opinion of other states. If we decline this honorable course, the laurels of Adams will remain on our brow, only to decorate his victim. The attempt to acquire an ascendancy in the Government, will recoil upon ourselves, if unsuccessful in an election like the present. Should we succeed, it is difficult to perceive any advantages. Adams has been so long absent, as to be a stranger to us. Our Politicians have never identified their interests with his. Our President should be the chief among our foremost men. Such were the Virginia Presidents to the Virginians. But it cannot be, that Harrison G. Ois, who was too virtuous both for Federalists and Republicans, can enter into the feelings of Adams, who has been too selfish for all parties. The same is true of Pickering. Yet without such men, how can Adams be a President for the N. England Federalists? They certainly can have no inducement to crusade against the Southern States. Their sufferings from the elder Adams, are remembered, and his son is not humane in exposing them again to a similar fate. What Democrats come out for Adams? *Step forward, ye spawners of fustian!* Fellow Citizens, these Democrats are but flies upon the wheel, while such as Gov. Pierce, of New-Hampshire, and Marcus Morton, of Massachusetts, are averse to him. Others, like the members of our Legislature, reluctantly appear, when they are dragooned into a yea or nay.

It is a matter of surprise, that Adams obtained the electoral vote of this state at the last election. A majority of the voters were not in favour of him, but of Jackson, Crawford, Clay, Calhoun and Clinton, and his success was owing not to his own strength but to the division of his opponents. If these opponents do not now unite for Jackson, it will be because his character has been misrepresented. He has been more defamed, than Jefferson and Sullivan. But information will spread, and the cause of truth, and honor, and disinterestedness will prevail.

Fellow-citizens, you have no object to gain by shutting your eyes to the truth. Were we addressing men as selfish as Adams, and corrupt as Clay, we should despair of restoring you to the favour of the nation. But we know that the people of Mas-

Massachusetts are in heart patriotic, liable to err, but willing to retrieve their errors. The same reasons, that have influenced the States, where Jackson is best known, to give him an unanimous support, the same reasons that have decided a majority of both Houses of Congress to oppose Adams will sooner or later influence you.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That we view the approaching Election of President with interest, and deem it a right and duty to express our regard for the services and character of Andrew Jackson.

Resolved, That we feel reluctant to join in the support of Levi Lincoln and Thomas L. Winthrop, for the offices of Governor and Lieutenant Governor at the approaching election.

Resolved, That we will recommend to the public as suitable Candidates,

The Hon. MARCUS MORTON, for GOVERNOR.

The Hon. NATHAN WILLIS, for Lt. GOVERNOR.

Resolved further, That we will exert ourselves to promote the Election of Gen. ANDREW JACKSON, of Tennessee, for President of the United States—and of Hon. JOHN C. CALHOUN, of South Carolina, for Vice President—and that we are influenced in this course by a just sense, as we believe, of the intrinsic merit of these great men, and indignation at the abuse which has been heaped upon them by their opponents—That we rely with confidence on the firmness and patriotism of Gen. Jackson; That, we believe that, in no event would the interests of the Country be jeopardized, by that headstrong and impetuous spirit, so much deprecated by his enemies.—And that, we dispassionately and deliberately recommend him to the public as every way worthy of their support.

Resolved, That our respect for the talents and worth of the present Vice President, induce us to wish his re-election, as being a man better fitted than any other individual whom we have known named to discharge the responsible duties of his office.

Resolved, To recommend the following Gentlemen as suitable candidates for Senators for this County :—

Dr. JAMES GARDNER, of *Lynn*.

JOHN FORRESTER, Esq. of *Salem*.

WILLIAM SUTTON, Esq. *Danvers*.

LOWELL BAGLEY, Esq. *Amesbury*.

JOHN RUSS, Esq. *Methuen*.

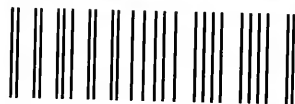
GAYTON P. OSGOOD, Esq. *Andover*.

JOHN JOHNSON, *Chairman*.

WM. HASELTINE, *Sec'y*.



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